

P. Carey

Javanese histories of Dipanagara: the Buku Kedhun Kebo, its authorship and historical importance

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P. B. R. CAREY

JAVANESE HISTORIES OF DIPANAGARA: THE BUKU KĔDHUŊ KĔBO,

ITS AUTHORSHIP AND HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

a. *Introduction*

The historian who wishes to make a study of the Java War (1825-1830) and its antecedents is faced with an unusually rich collection of Javanese historical materials on which to draw. These materials include both original letters and Babads (Javanese historical chronicles) written by participants in the events, but of these the Babad accounts are by far the most important. These Javanese histories are usually classified under the loose title of 'Babad Dipanagara' in library catalogues, although they often deal with very different facets of Paŋeran Dipanagara's struggle against the Dutch, and are sometimes even written by men who took part on opposing sides during the war. Most of the original 'Babad Dipanagara' and their MS. copies are kept in public collections in the Netherlands and in Indonesia, although there are still a few in private family collections. The most important public collections are those of the Leiden University Library (The Netherlands), the Museum Pusat (Jakarta), the Kraton (court) Libraries of Surakarta and Yogyakarta (Central Java), and the Library of the Sana Budaya Museum (Yogyakarta).[1] The absence of any comprehensive survey of this Babad material which could give a guide as to the location of the original MSS., their dates and background, makes the task of the historian exceedingly difficult. Meanwhile the amount of published material is still

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[1] For descriptions of the *Babad Dipanagara* in the Leiden University Library, see Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java,* 3 Vols, Nijhoff, The Hague, 1967-1970; for the collection in the Museum Pusat, see *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen,* Nix & Co, Bandung 1933, p. 290; for the Yogyakarta Kraton Collection, see Drs. Mujanattistomo, *Katalogus Manuskrip Kraton Jogjakarta,* Lembaga Bahasa Nasional publication, Yogyakarta, 1971; a catalogue of MSS. in the Surakarta Kraton Library will be published by Dr. N. Girardet in W. Germany shortly. There is no published catalogue of the Sana Budaya Collection.

pitifully small and is often as hard to come by as the MSS. themselves.

In order to make a general classification as to the most important MSS., that is those which were written by authors who had a first hand knowledge of the events they described, it seems possible to divide the Babads now known under the general title of 'Babad Dipanagara' into three main groups. Firstly there are the accounts written by Paŋeran Dipanagara himself whilst in exile in Menado (1830-1833) and in Makassar (1833-1855), and later on in the nineteenth century by members of Dipanagara's own family[2]; of these Babad accounts Paŋeran Dipanagara's autobiography is the best known and was used by both Louw and de Klerck for their history of the Java War.[3] A part of this autobiographical Babad has been published by Rusche & Co in Surakarta in 1908-1909, 1914, and 1917, but it seems certain that this publication was not based on the original MS.[4] Indeed, despite its popularity it must still remain a somewhat dubious source for the historian as no original MS. has come to light since A. B. Cohen Stuart made the copies, which are now in the Museum Pusat, in the 1870s.[5]

Secondly there is the group of Babads written at the courts of Central Java during the course of the nineteenth century often by men who had a direct experience of the events they described. This group of Babads has been totally ignored by historians even though it contains the only Babad written during the Java War itself, and the only Babad based effectively on both Javanese and Dutch sources.[6] These court

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[2] *Babad Dipanagara Menado Version*; LOr 6547 a-d, BG 149 (4 Vols), BG 282 (Pegon) and BG 283 (Jav. script), there are further two books of notes on Javanese history and Islam written by Dipanagara in Makassar and owned by his descendants. *Babad Dipanagaran Suryaŋalam,* LOr 6488, written by Raden Mantri Mohammed Arip (alias P. Dipanagara II), Dipanagara's second eldest son. LOr 6199-6200 which deals with Yogyakarta history from 1812-1830 was written by P. Suryawijaya, a younger brother of Dipanagara in collaboration with a Dutch inhabitant of Yogyakarta, A. N. Dom.

[3] P. J. F. Louw and E. S. de Klerck, *De Java Oorlog,* 6 Vols, Batavia and The Hague 1894-1909. Both these historians used a Dutch translation BG 314 now in the Museum Pusat (see Not.KBG. Mrt. 1893).

[4] *Serat Babad Dipanagaran,* 2 Vols, Rusche & Co. Surakarta 1908-1909, Jav. char. Vol. 1 314 pp., Vol. 2 268 pp., 2nd ed. 1914, 3rd ed. 1917.

[5] See Not.KBG. 5 June 1877 pp. 89-95, and S. van Praag, *Onrust op Java: De jeugd van Dipanĕgara; een Historisch-Literaire Studie,* Amsterdam 1947, p. 23.

[6] a. *Yogyakarta Kraton,* LOr 8552 a-c, the earliest copy of which was written in 1876 by R. Adip. Danurĕja V (1847-1879) and P. Suryanagara and was based on Dutch and Javanese materials; a further copy is in the Yogya Kraton Library, No. A.62. b. *Surakarta Kraton,* LOr 2114, which is a fragment of a longer Babad and was written on 19 Bĕsar, Be, A.J. 1752 (6 Aug. 1825).

Babads certainly deserve much more attention in the future and give an important insight into the equivocal attitude of the Central Javanese courts towards Paŋeran Dipanagara's struggle against the Dutch.

The third group of Babads is that which is known under the general title of 'Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo', written some time after the end of the Java War and so called because of the original name of the settlement on the Bagawanta river (Bagĕlen) which was afterwards known as Purwarĕja.[7] These Babads, many of them almost exactly similar in style and content, were apparently written on the orders of the first Bupati of Purwarĕja after the war, Raden Adipati Cakranagara I (1830-1862), to glorify his own exploits and those of his Dutch allies in the Bagĕlen area during the course of the Java War, and to provide a foundation charter for the new dynasty of Bupatis which he had founded in Bagĕlen. Because Cakranagara I's position was almost entirely due to the prestige and rank he had earned during the Java War, the events of those years were of considerable importance for his family history. The oldest Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MS. appears to be LOr. 2163 of the Leiden University Library which was apparently begun in 1842 and finished sometime in the following year, although the chronograms and dates which are given in the introduction are not entirely clear. This MS. was given to Governor-General J. J. Rochussen (1845-1851) when he was on tour in Central Java in 1847, and was passed on to his friend J. C. Baud, then Chairman of the Koninklijk Instituut, when he returned to the Netherlands. Baud asked Taco Roorda to make a translation, and Roorda in turn sought the unwilling help of C. F. Winter in Surakarta; after some difficulties a translation of the first 200 pages of the MS. was published in *Bijdragen* in 1860.[8] Various other MSS. copies of the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo were completed during the years between 1843 and Cakranagara I's death in 1862, but they differ very little from the original. Finally in the latter part of the nineteenth century a MS. of the Buku was published by Van Dorp in Sĕmaraŋ, but although this publication seems to have been popular in Java, it is now virtually unobtainable. A full description of this publication was made by R. Poerwasoewignja and R. Wirawaŋsa in the *Pratelan* of 1920.[9]

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[7] See Pigeaud *op. cit.* Vol. I p. 168 and Vol. 2 pp. 35, 69, and 78; see also A. C. Vreede, *Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits Bibliotheek,* Brill, Leiden 1892, pp. 136-143.

[8] T. Roorda, Verhaal van de oorsprong en het begin van de opstand van Dipa Nĕgara volgens een Javaansch Handschrift, *BKI* 1860 (3) pp. 137-227.

[9] R. Poerwasoewignja and R. Wirawangsa, *Pratelan,* Batavia 1920, pp. 150-159.

Meanwhile the real authorship of the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo has remained a mystery even though it is known that the original conception of the work and some of its composition can be attributed to Cakranagara I. The nature of the Buku itself, of which the first part is devoted to the history of Yogyakarta and Paŋeran Dipanagara between 1812 and 1825 and the second part is almost entirely concerned with the fighting in Bagĕlen and Banyumas and the history of Purwarĕja after the Java War, suggests that it may have been the work of more than one person. There are also various stylistic differences and the latter part of the Buku contains more Malay words and Javanese idioms from the Sĕmaraŋ area. This lack of any really firm data as to the authorship and historical viewpoint of the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo has meant that it has been used hardly at all as a source by historians despite Roorda's translation and its pro-Dutch bias, which could enable it to be used successfully as a comparative account against Dipanagara's own autobiographical Babad and the Babads written in the Central Javanese courts.

The published version does however give a clue as to one of the possible co-authors of the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo and in the introduction to this text he is named as Ali Basah Kĕrta Pĕŋalasan, one of Dipanagara's most trusted army-commanders *(Basah)* during the Java War. This fact has not apparently been noticed before and often Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MSS. which have this particular introduction are classified under a different heading in library catalogues: thus LOr. 8553 of the Leiden University Library is referred to as the 'Ali Basah Babad' in Dr. Pigeaud's catalogue.[10] A comparison of the first lines of the cantos shows clearly however that this particular Babad is nearly the same as the published version, which is in turn closely related to the other Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MSS.[11] The remainder of this article will be concerned first with a comparative survey of the various introductions to the different types of Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MSS. (part b), secondly with short biographical sketches of Cakranagara and Pĕŋalasan (parts c and d), and finally some tentative conclusions as to the possible format of the composition of the Buku and its importance as an historical source for the period of Paŋeran Dipanagara (1785-1855) and the Java War (1825-1830) (part e).

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10 Pigeaud *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 480.

11 See Soegiarto, List of first lines, LOr 10.867 D, and *Pratelan op. cit.* pp. 150-159.

b. *Comparative Survey of Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MSS.*

It is impossible within the scope of this article to make a comparative survey of all the available Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MSS., but the following introductions are taken from the three most important MSS. composed during the nineteenth century. The first is from the oldest extant Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MS., LOr. 2163, which has already been discussed. The second is taken from a MS. in the possession of the Koninklijk Instituut (Leiden), KITLV Or. 13, which was copied during the period of R. Adip. Cakranagara II (1862-?) and is in fact only a fragment of the main work.[12] Finally a third introduction is taken from a MS. in the Sana Budaya Museum Library (Yogyakarta), P.B. (Panti Budaya) MS. A. 282, which is almost exactly similar to the published version, because the latter was not available when this article was written.

Introduction to LOr. 2163:	*Translation:*
Bismilah kala tinulis	This was begun to be written
warsa Alip kaŋ lumampah	in the year Alip,
Jumadilawal sasine	the month was Jumadilawal,
Juluŋpujud wukunira	the wuku Juluŋpujut
marĕŋi taŋgal pisan	on the date of the first,
Buda Pon enjiŋ rinipun	on Wednesday Pon in the morning
maŋsa kalih duk sĕmana.	in the second season.
Sĕŋkalanira iŋa[ŋ]git	The chronogram was reckoned,
boqmĕnawa kalĕrĕsan	(But) it is a question whether it is correct
rehniŋ bodho pujaŋgane	because of the stupidity of the poet,
windunipun windu Setra	the windu was the windu Setra.
iŋ maŋke sĕŋkalanya	Now the chronogram is
catur iŋ syaraniŋ ratu	*catur iŋ syaraniŋ ratu* (A.J. 174(?)/A.D. 1843?)
Dyan Dipati karsanira.	The Raden Adipati wished it.
Wau Kaŋjĕŋ Dyan Dipati	Formerly the honourable Raden Adipati
aŋgalih ayasa babad	intended this Babad to be written
iŋ tĕmbe kapariŋake	so that later it could be passed on
dhumatĕŋ iŋ putra wayah	to his children, grandchildren,
buyut tanapi caŋgah	great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren
dadosa paŋemut-emut	so that they will know of it,
iŋ bĕnjaŋ sami ŋĕrtiya.	understanding all of them in the future.

[12] See Pigeaud *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 825 and *BKI* Vol. 69 p. 398.

Iŋ akir kaŋ dereŋ uniŋ	So that in the end those who did not know
sĕdaya samya emuta	would all be mindful of
gancare eyaŋ lampahe	the tale of their grandfather's career
kalane dherek lampahnya	from the time when he followed
Kaŋjĕŋ Gusti Paŋeran	His Excellency Prince
Kusumayuda puniku	Kusumayuda
sakundure Jĕŋ Paŋeran.	(until) the return of the honourable Prince (from Bagĕlen).

(Then follow five verses which describe the new command given to Cakranagara (then Cakrajaya) by Col. Cleerens after the departure of Paŋeran Kusumayuda (the Surakarta commander) in Jan. 1829 from Bagĕlen, and Cakranagara's trials in the fighting against Dipanagara's troops in the area.)

Iŋ maŋke Raden Dipati	Now the Raden Adipati
pilĕŋgah neŋ Purwarĕja	has his seat in Purwarĕja.
iŋaŋkat Kumpni Gĕdhe	He was raised up by the great Company [13]
Tuwan Bĕsar nagri Olan	(and) the ruler of Holland.[14]
sarta jinujuŋ drajat	He was raised in rank.
lĕluhur siŋ rama Ibu	The forefathers of his father and mother
jumuruŋ sarta nugraha.	assisted him (in the spirit) and gave him grace.

Wiwitan dalasan maŋkin	From the beginning till now
Dyan Dipati sampun wirya	the Raden Adipati has attained his noble rights.
wus dumugi sakarsane	He has already gained all his desires
ejrah Nabi dipun etuŋ	in the year of the Prophet which was reckoned
sewu dwi atus warsa	one thousand two hundred
sĕkĕt taun tĕŋgakipun	and fifty years stop
marma aran tanpa sirah.	for the name (number) was without head (unit).[15]

Sĕŋkala ejrah winarni	We tell of the chronogram for the year of the Prophet
tataniŋ netra awarna	*tataniŋ netra awarna* (A.H. 125(9?)/A.D. 1843)
sĕŋkala Jawi raose	the chronogram for the Javanese year is told as
pandhita wikuniŋ condra	*pandhita wikuniŋ condra* (A.J. 177(1?)/A.D. 1843)
sewu saptatus warsa	in the year one thousand seven hundred

[13] The Government of the Netherlands Indies was still referred to in Javanese Babads as the 'Company' (Jav. *Kumpĕni, Kumpni*) in recollection of the Dutch East India Company, the V.O.C. (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie), until quite late in the 19th century.

[14] This most probably refers to King William I of the Netherlands (1815-1840).

[15] The final lines of this stanza are quite muddled and the dates given are equally confused.

sekĕt pituŋ dasa laŋkuŋ	fifty seventy
tuŋgal tĕ[ŋ]gak tanpa sirah.	and one without head (unit).
Ri sampun den-sĕŋkalani	After stating the chronograms
yata wau kawarnaa	now is mentioned
nagri Mantaram wiyose	the realm of Mataram, to begin with
Yugyakarta Adiniŋrat	Yogyakarta Adiniŋrat.
Nata dinukan Suksma	The ruler was visited by the anger
dhumatĕŋ Yaŋ Maha Aguŋ	of the Almighty
sirnane kabĕkta topan.	and disappeared in a storm.[16]

Koninklijk Instituut Or. 13:	*Translation:*

(At the top of the opening pages: 'Pupuh Asmaradana', signifying the Asmaradana metre)

Kasmaran samar[17] iŋ galih	Dejected at heart
galihye pĕkir kaŋ nistha	(I) a humble beggar
saŋkiŋ sru saŋĕt papane	because of my great distress
kinunjara neŋ Samaraŋ	imprisoned in Sĕmaraŋ.
maŋkya sĕsĕmiŋ driya	Now gladly
amurwa lĕlakonipun	I begin the history
Paŋeran Dipanagara.	of Paŋeran Dipanagara.
Duk arsa maŋun agami	When he wished to raise up religion
ŋrata iŋ rat tanah Jawi	(and) order it throughout Java.
carita puniku wite	This tale was begun
anurun kaguŋanira	to be copied down from (a document) owned
nĕŋgih Maŋunsubrata	by Maŋunsubrata
Mister Jawa kaŋ linuhuŋ	a most respected Javanese doctor[18]
pilĕŋgah nagri Samaraŋ.	who lives in Sĕmaraŋ.

16 This refers to the storming of the Yogyakarta Kraton by the British troops on the 20th June 1812 and the exile of Sultan Hameŋkubuwana II (1792-1810 / 1811-1812 / 1826-1828) to Pulau Pinaŋ on the 28th June.

17 Suggest *samar* instead of *sumarya* which is given in the MS. and has one syllable too many. The asterixes refer to other changes which have been made in making the transliteration from the MS. and some of the mistakes had already been corrected by a later copyist in the MS. itself. The corrections are as follows: 3c *Dipanĕgarane* for *Dipanĕgne,* 3d *Sutanĕgara* for *Suranĕgara,* 4d *taŋgalira* for *tagalira,* 5b *sĕŋkalane* for *sĕkalane,* 5d *Sutanĕgara* for *Suranĕgara,* 6a *Amaŋke* for *Saŋ maŋke,* 6b *jinuŋjuŋ* for *jinujuŋ,* 7e *sirna* for *sirta,* 7g *sĕŋkala* for *sĕkala,* 8b *maŋke* for *maŋkeŋ.*

18 The term *Mister Jawa* or *Dokter Jawa* was a special category denoting specifically local doctors with limited medical qualifications in Java during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Maŋunsubrata iŋkaŋ wit	Maŋunsubrata began
denya anurun carita	to copy this tale
Babad Dipanĕgarane*	of the Babad Dipanĕgara
Mas Behi Sutanĕgara*	from Mas Ŋabehi Sutanĕgara
Patih dibya iŋ Samaraŋ	the honourable Patih in Sĕmaraŋ
kaŋ kaguŋan babonipun	who possessed the original manuscript
Babad srat Dipanĕgara.	of the Sĕrat Babad Dipanĕgara.
Nalika murwa iŋ kawi	The time when the story was begun in tĕmbaŋ (verse)
maŋun laŋĕniŋ carita	to make it more enjoyable
iŋ Sĕnen Lĕgi wancine	was on Monday Lĕgi
tiga siyaŋ taŋgalira*	at three o'clock in the afternoon,
soŋalikur kaŋ wulan	the date was the twenty ninth
Rabiŋulakir kaŋ taun	of the month Rabiŋulakir, the year
Alip iŋ moŋsa katiga.	Alip, in the third season.
Nuju Pujut wukuneki	The wuku was Juluŋpujut
sĕŋkalane* tanah Jawa	and the chronogram for the Javanese year was
tata lawaŋ ajariŋ woŋ	*tata lawaŋ ajariŋ woŋ* (A.J. 1795/A.D. 1866).
Mas Behi Sutanĕgara*	Mas Ŋabehi Sutanĕgara
dennya nurun carita	had copied this story
Dyan Dipati laŋkuŋ wirya	of the Raden Adipati who resides
iŋ nĕgari Purwarĕja.	in Purwarĕja.
Amaŋke* Raden Dipati	He is now a Raden Adipati
pan sampun jinuŋjuŋ* drajat	and was promoted in rank.
Kumpĕni kaŋ lairake	The Dutch Government ordered it
Tuwan Bĕsar iŋ Nĕdherlan	(and) the Great Lord in the Netherlands,[19]
wit sawabiŋ luhurnya	because of the high moral influence
saŋkiŋ rama miwah Ibu	of his father and mother
kasĕrtan takdiriŋ Alah.	together with the will of God.
Mila ta kaŋsi samaŋkin	Therefore till now
Dyan Dipati laŋkuŋ wirya	the Raden Adipati is always to the fore.
dumugi baraŋ karsane	He achieved his desires
ejrah Nabi dipun etaŋ	in the year of the Prophet
sirna tasik raniŋrat*	*sirna tasik raniŋrat* (A.H. 1260/A.D. 1843)
mĕŋgah iŋ sĕŋkala* Jawa.[20]	and the chronogram for the Javanese year was

[19] This again probably refers to King William I.

[20] This stanza has line f. missing in the MS. which may account for the fact that the sense is not entirely clear.

Bumi ardi rĕsi siji	*Bumi ardi rĕsi siji* (A.J. 1771/A.D. 1843).
iŋ maŋke* amaŋun kondha	Thus he (the Raden Adipati) composed the tale
nagri Mĕntaram kandhane	which is about Mataram,
iŋgih nagari Ŋayogya	that is Yogyakarta,
praja gĕŋ tanah Jawa	the mighty capital of Java,
ri kala katĕkan bĕndu	at the time when wrath had descended
saŋkiŋ Alahu Taŋala.	from God Almighty.[21]

Introduction to P.B. A.282 (Published Version):	*Translation:*

Kasmaran wĕdhariŋ galih	Coming out of the great love of [21a]
Dyan Panji Jayasupraja	Raden Panji Jayasupraja,
Undersĕtan wĕdanane	pensioned Wĕdana of
Magĕtan iŋkaŋ atmaja	Magĕtan, the son
Raden Tumĕŋguŋ warga	of Raden Tumĕŋguŋ
Jayanĕgara iŋ daŋu	Jayanĕgara who formerly
iŋkaŋ jumĕnĕŋ Bupatya.	held the rank of Bupati
Arja Winaŋun nagari	In Arjawinaŋun
apdeliŋ Panaraga	in the district of Panaraga,
maŋke kinunjareŋ manon	now by the will of God serving time in jail
wontĕn praja iŋ Samaraŋ	in the town of Sĕmaraŋ.
ŋriku maŋgih carita	There he came across the tale
nalikanira puniku	about the period of
Paŋeran Dipanagara.	Paŋeran Dipanagara,
Maŋun praŋ neŋ tanah Jawi	When he was waging war in Java.
dene iŋkaŋ pariŋ kojah	The person who recounted the story
cariteku sadayane	(and) the whole history
saŋkiŋ Raden Ali Basah	was Raden Ali Basah
gih Kĕrta Pĕŋalasan	Kĕrta Pĕŋalasan,
iŋ uni puŋgawanipun	formerly an official
Paŋeran Dipanagara.	of Paŋeran Dipanagara.
Lajĕŋ rinipta iŋ kawi	Then it was composed in verse
rinĕŋgeŋ sĕkar macapat	making use of the Macapat metre,

[21] Again the history proper begins with the storming of the Yogyakarta Kraton in 1812.

[21a] The first line of this verse gives the key that the *Asmaradana* metre is to be used.

supados rahab kaŋ maos	so that those who read it would find enjoyment.
mĕŋgah lĕpatiŋ carita	If there are any faults in the tale
iŋgih nuwun aksama	I beg your forgiveness
rehniŋ kaŋ marĕŋgeŋ kiduŋ	because the composer of this poetry
mĕksih lit tan wrin pribadya.	is still young (and) did not experience (the events) himself.
Nalika murwa iŋ kawi	The time when the poem was begun
maŋun laŋĕniŋ carita	(and) the pleasant qualities of the tale improved
iŋ Soma Manis wancine	was on Monday Lĕgi at the hour
jam tri siyaŋ nujeŋ taŋgal	of three o'clock in the afternoon, on the date
saŋalikur kaŋ wulan	the twentyninth, in the month
Rabiŋulakir kaŋ taun	Rabiŋulakir, in the year
Prapalip surya duk katiga.	Alip, in the third season.
Juluŋpujud wukuneki	The wuku was Juluŋpujut
sĕŋkala Jawi pinetaŋ	(and) the chronogram for the Javanese year
tata lawaŋ ajariŋ woŋ	was *tata lawaŋ ajariŋ woŋ* (A.J. 1795/A.D. 1866).
kaŋ kinarya purweŋ kondha	The tale begins with
nagari iŋ Ŋayugya	the state of Yogyakarta
anĕŋgih sabakdanipun	after
Jĕŋ Sultan dibuwaŋ sabraŋ.	His Highness the Sultan was exiled.[22]

Thus the introduction to LOr. 2163 shows clearly that the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo was not the work of Raden Adipati Cakranagara I, but that rather it was written under his patronage and direction: hence the Javanese 'aŋgalih ayasa babad' which suggests that he was the person who conceived the outline of Babad rather than actually composed it himself. It is also interesting that Cakranagara indicated a particular time span in his career: from when he followed his commander, Paŋeran Kusumayuda, out of Surakarta with troops to Bagĕlen and Banyumas in August 1825, until the final departure of Kusumayuda from Bagĕlen in January 1829[23] and the period when Cakranagara (then Cakrajaya) was given full command of the Javanese troops in Bagĕlen under the direction of Colonel Cleerens, the Dutch commander in the area. This seems to indicate specifically the part of the Buku that was of interest

[22] Again the history proper begins with the exile of Sultan Hamĕŋkubuwana II and the appointment of his son, Dipanagara's father, as Sultan Hamĕŋkubuwana III (1812-1814).

[23] LOr 2163 16.20 p. 203 mentions the date of Rĕsadiwiria's departure from Surakarta as 8 Muharram, Wawu, A.J. 1753 (23 Aug. 1825) and 41.17-18, p. 506 gives 29 Jumadilakir Ehe, A.J. 1756 (6 Jan. 1829) as the date of his new appointment.

to Cakranagara and was important for his family history. The earlier passages in the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo which concern the history of Yogyakarta and of Paŋeran Dipanagara in particular could thus have been written under the direction of another man.

The dates which are given in this introduction are very perplexing as Roorda himself pointed out in the notes to his translation.[24] For the chronogram of the Javanese year the author only gives three figures, *catur iŋ syaraniŋ ratu* (four are the voices of the king), which could give 174, and if this is understood as A.J. 1774/A.D. 1845, then this would not fit with the year Alip. If however A.J. 1771/A.D. 1843 is taken, which was an Alip year, then the date which is given, 1 Jumadilawal, would have fallen on a Friday and not a Wednesday as mentioned in the MS. A note by the translator who translated the MS. into Malay on the orders of Cakranagara I states that the Babad was begun in the year Jimakir on Thursday 12 Sawal, A.J. 1770, the 14th November 1842, and if the chronogram which is given in the introduction to KITLV Or. 13 is taken as date for when the MS. was completed, *Bumi ardi rĕsi siji,* A.J. 1771/A.D. 1843, then it can perhaps be safely assumed that the Babad was written between 1842 and 1843. This might also be supported by the two other chronograms given, *tataniŋ nĕtra awarna,* for the Hijrah year and *pandhita wikuniŋ condra* for the Javanese year which could give A.D. 1843. The date which is given for Cakranagara's official appointment as Bupati of Purwarĕja, A.H. 1250/A.D. 1834, is however clearly false as he was confirmed as Bupati four years earlier on the 9th June 1830.[25] Throughout the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo, and especially in the latter part of the Babad, the dates and chronograms which are given for events are almost without exception wrong, sometimes by as much as a year, and this detracts from its usefulness as an historical source. Thus the confusion over the dating of the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo in the introduction is in context with the rest of the work: rightly the author referred to his own stupidity in such chronological matters when he wrote, 'rehniŋ bodho pujaŋgane' (because of the stupidity of the poet), and he might perhaps have carried his modesty a stage further and refrained from calling himself a 'pujaŋga'.[26]

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24 Roorda *op. cit.* pp. 198-9.

25 de Klerck *op. cit.* Vol. VI p. 198.

26 J. F. C. Gericke and T. Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederduitsch Handwoordenboek,* Amsterdam 1886, p. 803 give the following description of the word: "A learned man, a linguist and a poet, hence *pujaŋganiŋ praja,* a court poet, a literary man and an historian at the court who fulfilled the office of state historian."

The Koninklijk Instituut Babad and the published version however both agree on the date when the copy was made in Sĕmaraŋ, 29 Jumadilakir A.J. 1795, which converts into 7th November 1866, but whereas in the Koninklijk Instituut version this scribe remains anonymous, in the published version he is named as Raden Panji Jayasupraja, a pensioned Wĕdana from Magĕtan in East Java and a son of a previous Bupati of Panaraga.[27] This man was apparently imprisoned in Sĕmaraŋ jail for some unknown offence against the Government, and there met Ali Basah Kĕrta Pĕŋalasan who recounted the history orally. It is known that Pĕŋalasan went to Sĕmaraŋ after the end of the Java War, and was apparently still living there in March 1856,[28] but there is no evidence to suggest that he served any time in prison or was connected with the prison service. Certainly by the time Raden Panji Jayasupraja came to copy down the Babad in Sĕmaraŋ in 1866 Pĕŋalasan must have already been a very old man because he was already referred to as 'Bapak Pĕŋalasan' in Colonel Cleerens' reports from the Bagĕlen front in 1829-1830.[29] It seems likely that the Babad version in question was written many years before; thus the Koninklijk Instituut MS. states that the original document, or *babon,* was in the hands of Mas Ŋabehi Sutanĕgara, the Patih of Sĕmarang,[30] who had himself copied it, almost certainly from the complete Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo MS. made earlier under the sponsorship of Cakranagara I. One of Cakranagara's sons may have got a position in a Government office in Sĕmaraŋ[31] before succeeding his father as Bupati of Purwarĕja in 1862, and it is likely that Mas Ŋabehi Sutanĕgara would have known this man although it is not entirely certain. It would seem appropriate that if Cakranagara's son had recently succeeded his father as Bupati of Purwarĕja, he would have been anxious to have the Buku copied again as a reaffirmation of the rights of the Cakranagara dynasty in Bagĕlen. It may be also that earlier Cakranagara's son, Mas Ŋabehi Sutanĕgara and Pĕŋalasan had co-operated together on the composition of some parts of the Buku in Sĕmaraŋ on the instructions of Cakranagara I, which would explain the influence of Sĕmaraŋ Malay and Javanese idioms in the Buku.

[27] de Klerck *op. cit.* Vol. VI, List of eastern Mancanagara Bupatis, p. 375.

[28] J. Hageman Jcz., *Geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830,* Batavia 1856, pp. 412-3.

[29] de Kock Private Archive, ARA, (henceforth DK) No. 49, Cleerens to de Kock, 14 Nov. 1829, letter No. 232.

[30] *Regeerings Almanak 1866,* p. 205.

[31] Interview with Bapak Wiriaratmaka, ex Bupati of Purwarĕja 1966-1967, Purwarĕja, May 1972.

Cakranagara's son would also have had his own experiences of fighting in Bagělen during the Java War, although he would still have been very young.[32] This however remains very tentative and some understanding of the biographies of both Raden Adipati Cakranagara I and Ali Basah Pěŋalasan seems necessary first to clarify the background to the composition of the Buku.

c. *Biography of Cakranagara*

Cakranagara seems to have been born in Bagělen some time around 1780,[33] which would thus have made him an almost direct contemporary of Paŋeran Dipanagara who was born in Yogyakarta on November 11th 1785.[34] He came from a family of prominent Kyais in Bagělen, which had been administered by Surakarta as a western Mancanagara province since the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755. Cakranagara himself had been born in the desa (village) of Banyu-urip between the Lereŋ and Bagawanta rivers in south-eastern Bagělen, but members of his family had established themselves in various villages around the area and had served as officials of both Kartasura and Surakarta for five generations.[35] One of the positions held by their family had been that of Mantri Gladhag, which amongst other duties entailed the organisation of transport labour for the Sunan [35a]; the position was a humble one, but it served nevertheless as a useful channel for Kraton patronage. Later when the Cakranagara family tree was drawn up in 1939 their lineage

32 LOr 2163 34.72 p. 454.

33 Not.KBG. 5 Apr. 1862 pp. 508-510 quoting a letter of A. W. Kinder de Camarecq, Resident of Bagělen (1854-1862), dated 20 Mar. 1862, which mentioned that the *eighty year old* Regent was busy (onledig heeft gehouden) in former years with the composition of a Babad on the Java War. Cakranagara died in 1862 (date on the tombstone of Cakranagara's grave at Bulus, Loano).

34 LOr 6547 b, 14.44 p. 114, which gives 8 Muharram A.J. 1712 (11 Nov. 1785); see also Louw *op. cit.* Vol. I p. 89.

35 *Sědjarah R. M. T. Suraněgara* (Family tree of the descendants of the Cakranagara family now living in Purwarěja).

35a See Gericke & Roorda *op. cit.* p. 1000. The *Gladhag* was a sort of porter's guild organised in both Yogyakarta and Surakarta for carrying loads on the roads of Central Java; much of the labour was drawn from the *Mancanagara* provinces, hence Cakranagara's family probably organised the supply of transport labour from Bagělen which was partly administered by Surakarta at that time. The labourers were poorly paid and often fell a prey to opium and gambling, see J. I. van Sevenhoven, *Aanteekeningen gehouden op eene reis over Java van Batavia naar de Oosthoek in 1812,* KITLV H 503, pp. 49-52.

was traced back as far as Majapahit.[36] Cakranagara appears to have succeeded to the family position of Mantri Gladhag in Surakarta, and served there in the Kraton administration under the name of Ŋabehi Rĕsadiwiria.[37] Very little is known about his career before the outbreak of the Java War in 1825, but there is a story that both Cakranagara [37a] and Dipanagara studied Islamic mysticism and *kĕbatinan* (Javanese spiritual disciplines) under the same *guru* together in a village just outside Surakarta.[37b]

This guru was not however Kyai Maja whose family had a wide following at both courts of central Java, but whom Dipanagara met only briefly before the Java War.[38] It is more likely to have been a Kyai of foreign descent, known as Kyai Taptajani, who was born an inhabitant of Mĕlaŋi, a village near Yogyakarta, a short distance to the north-west of Dipanagara's dalĕm at Tĕgalrĕja.[39] This village was closely associated with the Danurĕja family, the Patihs of Yogyakarta, with whom Dipanagara himself had close family connections.[40] According to a report written by the Resident of Yogyakarta, Matthias Waterloo (1803-1808), in 1805, Taptajani was held in high regard by the nobles of the Yogyakarta Kraton and was the *guru* of Patih Danurĕja II (1799-1811). He had learnt to speak fluent Javanese and

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36 *Soedjarah Raden Adipati Tjokronagoro I - Poerworedjo - soho garwo putro*, Bandoeng, October 1939.

37 Wiriaratmaka, Vreede *op. cit.* p. 141, Kinder de Camarecq *op. cit.* pp. 508-10.

37a To avoid complication the name of *Cakranagara* will be used throughout this article. In fact as is usual in Java, he bore various names during his career: a childhood name which is unknown, Mas Ŋabehi Rĕsadiwiria during his period at Surakarta, Tumĕŋguŋ Rĕsadiwiria during the early part of the fighting in Bagĕlen, Tumĕŋguŋ Cakrajaya from 1828-1830, Kyai Adipati Cakrajaya from 1830-1832, and finally Raden Adipati Cakranagara from 1832 until his death in 1862. The name Cakrajaya recalls that of the local *wali* of Bagĕlen Sunan Gĕsĕŋ from whom Cakranagara was supposedly descended, see Dr. D. A. Rinkes, De Heiligen van Java III: Sunan Geseng, *TBG*, LIII, 1911, p. 284.

37b Interview with Ibu Dr. Sahir, great-granddaughter of P. Dipanagara II, Yogyakarta, May 1972.

38 de Klerck *op. cit.* Vol. V, Bijlage XXXVI, pp. 744-5.

39 The details on Kyai Taptajani are taken from a letter of M. Waterloo to N. Engelhard (Gov. of Java's N.E. Coast 1801-1808) dated 22nd June 1805, in *Bundel Djokjo Brieven*, No. 49, AN. Taptajani is the Javanese pronunciation of the Arabic name Taftāzānī; Al-Taftāzānī was a famous scholar who wrote books on many subjects that have been in use for centuries after his death in ? A.D. 1390. It is possible that Taptajani might have been a Sumatran who after the Indonesian practice when assuming an Arab name, had assumed that of a famous writer (Note of Prof. G. W. J. Drewes).

40 R. W. Dwijasuganda and R. S. Adisutrisno, *Sĕrat Dharah iŋgih sĕsĕbutan Raden*, Kediri 1941, p. 99.

had a reputation for being extremely well read in Islamic law. His two sons had however been sent away to Surakarta, which seems to have been more important at that time as a spiritual centre than Yogyakarta. There they found positions under the patronage of Paŋeran Buminata at the Surakarta court, and were very close to the circle of gurus and teachers at Maja. In June 1805 Taptajani himself fled to Surakarta when his lands at Mĕlaŋi were reseized by Danurĕja II and after the Pĕŋulu of Yogyakarta had refused him permission to continue to meet Princes from the Yogyakarta Kraton. In Surakarta he quickly won the esteem of Sunan Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820) by translating a difficult Arabic book, the Siratu'l Mustakim,[41] into Javanese, and was accorded a sizeable grant of land in a village one hour's distance to the west of Surakarta. He apparently had plans to go to Mecca so that he could live in peace without being bound to either court, but he stayed in the Surakarta area where he continued to have an important influence on Pakubuwana IV and Surakarta court circles.[42] The Surakarta Kraton Babad written in 1825, which concerns the outbreak of the Java War, has a passage in which Kyai Taptajani is described as coming at night to Tĕgalrĕja at the head of all the Ulamas from the independent areas *(pardikan)*, Kĕtibs, Modins and experts in Islamic law, and as having given Dipanagara advice as to the right moment for the Ratu Adil to proclaim himself and the Holy War *(Praŋ Sabil)* to be waged.[43] It seems highly likely that Dipanagara had close connections with him as Taptajani must have been at the height of his influence in Yogyakarta when Dipanagara was living with his great-grandmother at Tĕgalrĕja and studying Islam as a young man. There is evidence in Dipanagara's own autobiographical Babad that Taptajani was the guru of his younger brother, Paŋeran Adisuria, a man of great spiritual strength who died a 'moksa' death on Mt. Sirnabaya in Bagĕlen at the end of the Java War, and from this passage it appears that Taptajani had died some time before.[44]

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41 Letter of M. Waterloo to N. Engelhard *cit.* The Sirāṭ'ul Mustakīm (The straight path) is a quotation from the Fātiḥa (Kurān Sura 1), it most probably refers to the Ṣirāt al Mustaqīm by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, a *fiqh* book that stood in high repute in Indonesia (Note of Prof. G. W. J. Drewes), see Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen,* VBG, LVII, 1909, pp. 375-377.

42 *Ibid.,* letter of Waterloo to Engelhard.

43 LOr 2114 4.29, 5 1-15 (pp. 15-17).

44 LOr 6547, d 38. 44-46 p. 209, Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 138. A 'moksa' death (Jav. *muksa*) is a death when no mortal remains are left behind.

It would thus seem possible that through Kyai Taptajani, Cakranagara and Dipanagara could have met before the outbreak of the war and may have even had close relations, for nothing unites two people more in Java than having studied at the feet of the same *guru kĕbatinan* together. Indeed in the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo itself there is implicit in the wayaŋ imagery used a suggestion that as far as Cakranagara was concerned the War itself was a trial of *kĕsaktian* (spiritual strength) between himself and Paŋeran Dipanagara, for he portrays himself in the Buku as Raden Sĕtyaki or Bimakuntiŋ and Paŋeran Dipanagara as a Kurawa leader, probably Suyudana, and this imagery is featured on the leather bindings of two MS. copies of the Buku.[45] In the Mahabharata, the war between the Kurawas and the Pandhawas, Bima is portrayed as eventually triumphing over Suyudana despite the latter's *kĕsaktian* because of being informed by Prabu Krĕsna of a weak place on Suyudana's left thigh.[46] This undercurrent of the struggle between the individual *kĕsaktian* of different men and the wayaŋ imagery of the Bratayuda may have played an important part in the consciousness of those Javanese who took part in the Java War. It is expressed in another way too in the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo in the important descriptions of signs and portents delivered through dreams and visions to Paŋeran Dipanagara's *abdi dalem* (retainers) before the outbreak of the Java War, which foretold that Dipanagara would rule in Java and spread Islam, but that this authority would be taken from him if he proved guilty of pride, recklessness or conceit.[47] The fact that Dipanagara eventually failed in his endeavours was thus ascribed obliquely by the author of the Buku to a fatal flaw in Dipanagara's character and spiritual integrity.

This evidence as to Cakranagara's relationship with Dipanagara still remains tentative however, and it is almost certain that it was not renewed in a direct confrontation during the Java War itself, for when the war broke out in July 1825 he was still in Surakarta, and when General de Kock asked Sunan Pakubuwana VI (1823-1830) to send

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45 LOr 2163 has (back cover) *Suyudana* (with a pike) and *Baladewa,* and (front cover) *Durna* and *Bima* (with a club). DevAth DvT V I has (front cover) *Bima* and *Yudistira* and (back cover) *Suyudana* and *Baladewa,* see Pigeaud *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 869.

46 Pak Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah Wajang Purwa,* Balai Pustaka, 1965, p. 96.

47 See G. Forrester, *The Java war: some Javanese Aspects,* unpublished M.A. Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1971, Chapter III, entitled '*Signs and Portents: their role in the Babad*', pp. 43-73, which was based on an analysis of KITLV Or. 13 Cantos 6-7.

troops to the Banyumas and Bagĕlen areas in August 1825, Cakranagara was sent as the personal adviser of the Surakarta army commander Paŋeran Kusumayuda.[48] His task was apparently to point out the footpaths and roads in the Bagĕlen area for the Dutch officers and their Javanese allies, and to organise local resistance by making use of his own numerous family connections in the area against the growing strength of Dipanagara's troops there. During the course of the war Cakranagara seems to have made himself agreeable to the Dutch army officers in the area, especially to the commander in Bagĕlen, Colonel Cleerens, with whom he spoke Malay.[49] He seems to have been impressed by Dutch ways, and even mentions with pride in the Buku that he was portrayed by Cleerens as a Dutchman on the presentation of a decoration.[50] Perhaps his choice of the white skinned Pandhawa army commander, Raden Seta, as a wayaŋ figure with which to identify in some battle scenes also had a symbolic value in this context.[51] In this respect he was in marked contrast to Paŋeran Dipanagara who hated to hear Malay spoken and despised Dutch ways,[52] and also even to his own immediate superior Paŋeran Kusumayuda who was viewed by the Dutch High Command as being too much attached to Surakarta Kraton circles to be really useful as an ally.[53]

Cakranagara thus saw action exclusively in the areas of Bagĕlen and Banyumas and showed great zeal in military engagements. In December 1828 he was appointed Bupati of Taŋuŋ with the name of Tumĕŋguŋ Cakrajaya when he captured Basah Purwanĕgara and eight of his bodyguard almost single-handed.[54] He was also given the administration of the Surakarta lands in Bagĕlen to the east of the rivers Jali, Lĕsuŋ and Bagawanta and to the south of the Leraŋ, thus the area close to his own birthplace in which his family influence was strongest. Then in September 1829 troops operating under his command were responsible for the death of Paŋeran Dipanagara's most respected army

48 Vreede *op. cit.* p. 141, and Kinder de Camarecq *op. cit.*
49 See LOr 2163 36.26 p. 460, and DK, No. 49 letters of Cleerens to de Kock.
50 LOr 2163 44.68 p. 532.
51 LOr 2163 33.47 p. 425 and for a description of Raden Seta, Hardjowirogo *op. cit.* pp. 69-70.
52 2nd Lt. Knoerle, *Notes made during a journey from Batavia to Menado with Dipanagara,* Van den Bosch Private Archive, ARA, No. 391 p. 41 which quoted Dipanagara as saying that: 'The Malay language is the language of chickens and no ruler in Java wished to hear it.' For details on Dipanagara's attitude towards Dutch ways see LOr 6547 b 18.131, Rusche *op. cit.* I p. 80.
53 DK No. 49, Cleerens to de Kock, 8 Dec. 1828, No. 65.
54 de Klerck *op. cit.* Vol. IV p. 711 ff.

commander, Paŋeran Ŋabehi (earlier Paŋeran Jayakusuma) and his two sons at Saŋon in the Kĕlir Mts, on the borders of Bagĕlen and Kulon Praga.[55] This incident in which a prominent member of the Mataram Royal House met his death at the hands of a descendant of local Kyais naturally established Cakranagara's reputation in the area,[56] but Cakranagara himself seems to have been disturbed by this deed in which he was responsible for the death of a close relation of his own commander Paŋeran Kusumayuda.[57] He adopted an ambivalent attitude towards his superiors in the Surakarta Kraton, on the one hand he used *pusakas* (sacred heirlooms) given to him by Kusumayuda in the fighting, but on the other hand he made no active attempt to support his commander when he was removed by the Dutch in January 1829. This equivocation served him well and he himself was appointed as Kusumayuda's successor with control over all the Surakarta troops and officials in Bagĕlen.[58]

General de Kock seems to have promised Paŋeran Kusumayuda on his retirement that he would be allowed to administer Bagĕlen at the end of the war,[59] but this promise was broken shortly after Dipanagara was taken prisoner at Magĕlaŋ in March 1830. Cakranagara was summoned there by de Kock along with other officials from Bagĕlen and was informed that the province would be made a Dutch Residency. He then accompanied de Kock to Surakarta to report the news to Sunan Pakubuwana VI and Paŋeran Kusumayuda, but was unable to obtain an interview with the Sunan.[60] He returned to Bagĕlen with the Dutch Commissioner for the western Mancanagara lands, Van Sevenhoven, and was eventually sworn in as Bupati of Purwarĕja on the 9th June 1830 by the first head Pĕŋulu of Bagĕlen after the Java War, Haji Badarrudin, a former supporter of Paŋeran Dipanagara.[61] The failure to return Bagĕlen and other Mancanagara lands to Surakarta at the end of the war caused much bitterness in Surakarta, and was partly responsible for the events which led up to the exile of Sunan Pakubuwana VI in June 1830. Another Surakarta Tumĕŋguŋ with family connections in Bagĕlen, Aruŋ Binaŋ, was also appointed, but it was Cakranagara himself whose family attained the most influence in

55 *Ibid.* Vol. V pp. 393-5.
56 Kinder de Camarecq *op. cit.*
57 LOr 2163 46. 11-18, pp. 563-5.
58 LOr 2163 41. 17-26, p. 506.
59 Kinder de Camarecq *op. cit.*
60 LOr 2163 46. 22-39 (pp. 576-9), and 47. 1-16 (pp. 579-580).
61 de Klerck *op. cit.* Vol. VI p. 196 ff.

the area.[62] The Kabupaten which was built in Purwarĕja in about 1838 was constructed on the lines of a Kraton with an extensive northern alun-alun and a large Pĕndapa. Cakranagara's connections with Surakarta were still maintained,[63] but it was above all as a friend of the Dutch that Cakranagara had won his position and thus Dutch officials, especially military men, were often entertained in Dutch fashion in the Purwarĕja Kabupaten.[64] Cakranagara's diary which was presented to the commander of the Dutch army, Duke Bernhard of Sachsen Weimar (1850-1854), gives a fascinating insight into the relations between the Bupati and the Dutch civil and military officials in which vulgar 'Bazaar' Malay was used in conversation.[65]

The career of Cakranagara is probably similar to that of many other 'new men' who were appointed as Bupatis after the Java War by the Dutch Government, for often these were men who had much local influence but yet did not belong to the Yogyakarta or Surakarta high nobility. The style was also new with its stress on Malay rather than Javanese and its copying of Dutch ways; as such the period of the Java War marked a watershed in social change amongst the administrative personnel of the Central Javanese provinces and in this context the example of Cakranagara and the historical materials concerning him are important. As far as the Buku itself is concerned it is difficult to judge exactly how large a part Cakranagara played in its composition. Although it certainly seems that much of the latter half of the Buku which concerns the fighting in Bagĕlen and the history of Purwarĕja after the Java War was due to him, there still remains the question as to how so much of the history of Yogyakarta before the war could have been described by Cakranagara as a Surakarta official. Moreover there are detailed accounts of the fighting around Yogyakarta and Sĕlaroŋ in the early months of the war in the early part of the Buku, and many of these accounts equate almost exactly with certain Dutch military

62 *Soedjarah Raden Adipati Tjokronagoro* I *op. cit.* gives a list of Cakranagara's wives which illustrate the extent of his connections: Nyai Adip. Cakranagara (Pĕŋasih), R.Ŋt. Cakranagara (Rĕbug, Kĕmiri), M.Aj. Taŋguŋ (Caŋkrĕp), M.Aj. Dasih (Kali Gĕsiŋ), M.Aj. Sarimpi (Taŋguŋ), M.Aj. Mintarsih (Banyu-urip), M.Aj. Wolo, (Pĕkacaŋan, Pituruh).

63 His grandson served as Mantri Gladhag at Surakarta in the 1860s, Kinder de Camarecq *op. cit.*

64 For descriptions see LOr 2163 pp. 585-623, and DevAth DvT V I Cantos 60-75.

65 This is a MS. now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Berl. S.B. Or. folio 568, which will be described by Dr. Pigeaud in a forthcoming book on Javanese MSS. in W. German collections.

dispatches and Paŋeran Dipanagara's own account of the fighting in his autobiographical Babad.[66] During the early months of the war Cakranagara remained in Surakarta and when he was eventually posted to the front with Paŋeran Kusumayuda, he experienced none of the fighting in the Yogyakarta area, but was sent straight to the west, to Bagĕlen and Banyumas. It seems far more likely that for these early passages in the Buku Ali Basah Pĕŋalasan and not Cakranagara provided the main information, and this is confirmed by Pĕŋalasan's own career.

d. *Biography of Pĕŋalasan*

Pĕŋalasan is referred to in a Dutch report during the Java War as having previously been a Dĕmaŋ in the village of Tanjuŋ (Kulon Progo) and as having had the name Kramawijaya [67]; another report mentions that he served in Watĕs in the Kulon Progo area.[68] His name Pĕŋalasan, which was used in the Majapahit period to denote a Kraton retainer or *abdi dalĕm*,[69] suggests however that he might have fulfilled some official function in the Yogyakarta Kraton. He is mentioned by Col. Cleerens in 1829 as being married to the family of Paŋeran Blitar,[70] and this Paŋeran was one of the first to rally to Dipanagara at Sĕlaroŋ on the 29th July 1825 and was particularly discontented because of the loss of revenue from the abolition of the land rent.[71] In Dipanagara's own Babad Pĕŋalasan is mentioned as a Raden, which suggests that he was not of particularly high birth.[72] He may have even had a position

[66] See in particular the description of the capture and release of R. M. Suwangsa, cavalry captain of the Mankunĕgaran Legion, July 28-31 1825, in KITLV Or. 13 12. 21-28 pp. 128-129, and LOr 6547 b 22. 65-68 p. 390, Rusche *op. cit.* I p. 140, and the Dutch military dispatch drafted by the above in DK No. 183, dated 7 Aug. 1825, a part of which was published in H. F. Aukes, *Het Legioen van Mangkoe Nagoro,* Bandoeng 1935, Nix & Co, pp. 79-81.

[67] DK, No. 148, *List of Princes and the most important leaders with the rebels,* rough draft prepared by Walraven van Nes (Res. of Yogya 1827-1830) on 4 Oct. 1829. *Tanjuŋ* was placed as a village just to the south of Nanggulan (Kulon Progo) in de Klerck *op. cit.* Vol. V, Map.

[68] DK No. 158, *Lijst der Personen welke zich als muitelingen hebben opgeworpen* (List of persons who have risen as rebels), in which Pĕŋalasan is mentioned as No. 23 under Newly appointed Regents (i.e. appointed by Dipanagara between 1825-1830).

[69] Note of Dr. Pigeaud.

[70] DK No. 49, Cleerens to de Kock 26 Sept. 1829.

[71] DK No. 111, *Over het karakter van den Soesoehoenan, den Sultan van Djokjokarta en de Prinsen en rijksgrooten . . .* Nov.-Dec. 1829.

[72] LOr 6547 c 33.156, Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. I p. 268, Hageman *op. cit.* p. 82 mentioned him as a grandson of Sultan Hamĕŋkubuwana II (1792-1810/ 1826-1828) but he was probably a more distant relation.

in the entourage of the Pĕŋulu of Yogyakarta, Kamalodiniŋrat, who was appointed on the instructions of Patih Danurĕja IV and the Ratu Agĕŋ in 1823 much to the annoyance of Paŋeran Dipanagara, but it is unclear.[73] The wealth of details in the early part of the Buku which concern the religious hierarchy in Yogyakarta before the Java War does seem to suggest, however, that the author had some intimate knowledge of this group. The Yogyakarta Kraton Babad mentions that Pĕŋalasan rallied to Dipanagara along with other officials and persons of royal blood from the Yogyakarta Kraton when the Paŋeran was still at Tĕgalrĕja,[74] and he was certainly at Sĕlaroŋ later in the month as he is referred to in three separate Babad accounts as receiving a command there.[75]

Roorda noted in his introduction to his translation of the early part of the Buku that the author seemed to have been closely acquainted with what had happened at Yogyakarta before the outbreak of the Java War and even what had been spoken about there.[76] Indeed there are many details about the happenings in Yogyakarta which are not in other Babad accounts, in particular the detailed descriptions of the attendance of religious figures at the two state funerals of Sultan Hamĕŋkubuwana III in November 1814 and of Sultan Hamĕŋkubuwana IV in December 1822,[77] and Dipanagara's own relations with the Yogyakarta religious hierarchy are discussed in detail. The early part of the Buku also gives a unique insight into Dipanagara's character, his circle at Tĕgalrĕja, his relations with the Yogyakarta Kraton, his asceticism and reading habits: it gives above all a sympathetic picture of the Paŋeran in which his stern religious piety is especially admired; it is the picture of a warm supporter rather than an adversary. The events which led up to the outbreak of the war are also chronicled in great detail, which suggests a first-hand knowledge of these events by the author himself. It seems likely that if Pĕŋalasan did fulfil some

[73] KITLV H. 76, List of rebel Princes, Bupatis and Mantris, in *Papieren*, (Javaansche): *Boedel van Sultan Hamengkoe Buwana IV (1814-1822)*, a certain Tum. Kĕrtawijaya is mentioned in the following of Pĕŋulu Kamalodiniŋrat, and as Pĕŋalasan was known as *Kĕrta Pĕŋalasan* and *Kramawijaya*, there may be some connection with the inversion of names.

[74] Kraton Yogya Babad A. 62 p. 130.

[75] KITLV Or 13 10.24, SB 136 52.9 (p. 227), LOr 6547 c 23.205 (Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. I p. 160).

[76] Roorda *op. cit.* p. 138.

[77] KITLV Or 13 2.10-17 (for a description of ceremonies on the death of HB III) and KITLV Or 13 3. 43-44 (for a description of ceremonies on the death of HB IV).

official function in Yogyakarta especially if it had a connection with religious groups, then he would have been in a position to chronicle the events of those years in Yogyakarta with accuracy. Certainly Dipanagara himself had a large following amongst just such junior officials, for one Dutch report mentions that 78 Děmaŋs from the Sultan's lands in Mataram rallied to the Paŋeran during the early years of the war.[78]

Pěŋalasan played an important role in the defence of Sělaroŋ during the summer months of 1825,[79] and together with Tumĕŋguŋ Jaya-sundarga he was operating around Yogyakarta at the time when an officer of the Maŋkunagaran Legion, R. M. Suwaŋsa, was captured, an event which is described in great detail in the Buku.[80] Later in October, when Dipanagara ordered the evacuation of Sělaroŋ, Pěŋalasan formed part of the rearguard and was in charge of the artillery, and together with Dipanagara the Younger and Mas Maŋunagara covered one flank of Dipanagara's retreat across the Sělaroŋ hills.[81] Pěŋalasan then rallied to Dipanagara together with Paŋeran Ŋabehi (Jayakusuma) when the Paŋeran was at his first army headquarters to the west of Praga at Banyuměněng,[82] and later fought alongside Kyai Maja and other military commanders during the defence of Děksa in November 1825.[83] After this engagement during the reorganisation of Dipanagara's army commands at Děksa, Pěŋalasan was appointed an Ali Basah with the name of Ŋabdullatip, possibly in remembrance of a Haji of the Pěsantrěn of Kasoŋan who had been killed in the fighting at Kěmbaŋ Gědhe near Banyuměněŋ in November.[84] He was given command of all Dipanagara's troops to the west of Praga with all the Tuměŋguŋs under his command and two Hajis as supporters.[85] In the following year he played an important role in the defence of Dipanagara's benteŋ at Plered (May-June 1826), and is mentioned as a close associate of Kyai Maja and of Maja's younger brother Hasan Běsari, the Tuměŋguŋ of Pajaŋ.[86] He was severely wounded when Plered was overrun in June 1826 by the Dutch forces, and was taken by Haji Ŋisa, a close

78 KITLV H 76.
79 LOr 6547 c. 23.160 and 23.205 (Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. I p. 157 and p. 160).
80 See above n. 66, and LOr 8552 a 107. 1-10 p. 522.
81 LOr 6547 c 23.160 (Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. I p. 157).
82 *Ibid.*, c 24.66 (Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. I p. 170).
83 Kraton Yogya MS. A.62 p. 450.
84 LOr 6547 c 24.9 p. 42 (Rusche *op. cit.* I p. 165).
85 LOr 6547 c 24 97-98 p. 56.
86 SB 136 p. 297 45.24.

associate, to recuperate at Sĕlaroŋ[87]; later in the same year he was called up at Paŋeran Dipanagara's express command to take part in his abortive attack on Surakarta.[88] In 1827 Pĕŋalasan saw action around Barabadur together with Paŋeran Maŋkudiniŋrat,[89] but soon after seems to have been sent to Bagĕlen as the guardian of Paŋeran Dipanagara the Younger, and was again accorded command of all the troops on the west bank of the Praga together with various other religious leaders. In particular he was placed in command of the Jayeŋan Regiment which had a uniform of a red turban and a white jacket and had special duties as a lifeguard of priests for Dipanagara.[90] During the latter years of the war Pĕŋalasan operated almost exclusively in Bagĕlen and was referred to by Col. Cleerens as one of the most important rebel army commanders in the area.[91] He remained close to Dipanagara and is mentioned as one of the few Basahs (army-commanders) who remained with the Paŋeran after the disastrous defeats of September 1829. On September 25th 1829 he sent a letter to a kinsman, Tumĕŋguŋ Cakrarĕja, expressing his willingness to come over to the Dutch,[92] and this initiative was encouraged by Col. Cleerens. Pĕŋalasan eventually gave himself up to Cakranagara at the Bĕntĕŋ of Bubutan (Bagĕlen) on November 11th and was presented to Cleerens three days later at Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo,[93] but there is the suspicion that his submission had an ulterior motive and that he had been dispatched by Dipanagara himself to open peace negotiations for him.

Cleerens mentions that he was invited often to dine at his headquarters and that he was treated more as a personal friend than a captive[94]: his predilection for wine and opium was remarked on and more importantly his interest in Turkish affairs.[95] He appears to have been keen to ingratiate himself with the Dutch High Command by

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87 LOr 6547 c 25. 16-17 p. 78 and a translation of the same passage given in Aukes *op. cit.* p. 158.

88 LOr 6547 c 26 23-4 p. 158.

89 R. T. Jayadiniŋrat, *Schetsen over den Oorlog van Java,* ML 97 (Museum Pusat), p. 93.

90 LOr 6547 c 28 89-91 pp. 252-3 (Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. I pp. 271-2), SB 25 42-3 (p. 105). Dipanagara's regiments are described in A. S. H. Booms, *Eenige bladzijden uit de Nederlands Indische krijgsgeschiedenis 1820-1840, uit de "mémoires" van F. C. Gilly de Montela,* Amsterdam 1911, p. 34.

91 DK No. 49, Cleerens to de Kock letter No. 210, 26 Sept. 1825.

92 *Ibid.*

93 DK No. 49, Cleerens to de Kock, No. 249, 24 Dec. 1829.

94 DK No. 49, Cleerens to de Kock letters Nos 235, 236, and 240, 19 Nov., 20 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1829.

95 *Ibid.,* Cleerens to de Kock 3 Jan. 1830 No. 253.

organising the peace negotiations with Dipanagara, and hoped that by his efforts he would secure himself a post and a salary from the Dutch; he was particularly jealous of Sĕntot in this respect because of the latter's favoured position with the Government. Pĕŋalasan thus wrote twice to Dipanagara's Patih, Danurĕja, to contact Dipanagara and wrote a full-length letter to Cleerens in which he laid out his own views about Dipanagara's peace proposals.[96] These literary endeavours were also remarked on by Cleerens to de Kock in a letter in which he mentioned that: 'He (Pĕŋalasan) writes much for a Javanese and puts himself across well or so I hear . . .'.[97] His letter to Cleerens however brought him under great suspicion as a possible emissary of Dipanagara; 'I think more and more that Pĕŋalasan is the man that D.N. has sent over to negotiate with us,' wrote Cleerens, and at another point he warned de Kock not to place any trust in either Danurĕja or Pĕŋalasan: 'Your Excellency must order them accordingly for neither of them are sincere . . .'.[98] Thus although Pĕŋalasan played an important role in organising Cleerens' meeting with Dipanagara at Rĕma Kamal on the borders of Banyumas and Bagĕlen on the 16th February 1830, in which Cleerens remarked on Pĕŋalasan's great influence over Dipanagara,[99] he received no reward from the Dutch Government after the end of the Magĕlaŋ Conference in March. Instead it seems likely that he accompanied Dipanagara to Sĕmaraŋ and remained there fulfilling some minor office for the rest of his life. Hageman mentioned that he was still living there in March 1856 when he came to write his book on the Java War.[100]

Pĕŋalasan's career gives the impression that he would have been in a position to give first hand information as to the history of Yogyakarta before the Java War and to military engagements in the Yogyakarta area about which Cakranagara could have had no knowledge. His close connection with Dipanagara and members of his family throughout the course of the War would also have meant that he was in a unique position to provide personal details about the Paŋeran which Cakranagara may not have known. His connection with many of the most important religious leaders in Dipanagara's entourage during the Java War is interesting too, considering the very positive attitude towards

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96 These letters are published in Dutch translation in E. S. de Klerck *op.cit.* Vol. V, Bijlage XXV a-b. For Pĕŋalasan's letter to Cleerens see appendix.
97 DK No. 49, Cleerens to de Kock, 7 Dec. 1829, No. 242.
98 *Ibid.*, Cleerens to de Kock, 28 Mar. 1830, No. 271.
99 DK No. 209, Letter of Cleerens to Col. Cochius, 26 Feb. 1830.
100 Hageman *op. cit.* pp. 412-3.

Dipanagara's religious piety which is expressed in the early part of the Buku. Pĕŋalasan could not have been called a literary man, certainly not a *pujaŋga,* but the fact that he could write is an important consideration when judging his possible contribution to the composition of the Buku. It seems likely however that both Cakranagara and Pĕŋalasan merely dictated the general outlines and details, and that the various parts of the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo were then written down in *tĕmbaŋ* (verse), hence the references to 'maŋun laŋĕniŋ carita' by the scribes in the introductory verses. Dipanagara also seems to have used the same technique when he came to write his own Babads in Menado and Makassar.

e. *Conclusion*

Any conclusions about the authorship of the Buku must remain tentative in view of the lack of really firm information as to the stages of its composition. Nevertheless it seems likely that Pĕŋalasan provided much of the material for the first part of the Buku, roughly the first 200 pages which Roorda translated, although Cakranagara's possible *kĕbatinan* contact with Dipanagara may have been helpful in this respect. Thus the long passages concerning the signs and portents received by Dipanagara before the Java War could have been written by either Pĕŋalasan or Cakranagara, for they would conveniently explain either why Pĕŋalasan deserted the Paŋeran, or else why, despite Dipanagara's great spiritual accomplishments, Cakranagara decided to fight against him. Then, after the brief interlude in which the fighting in East Java and around Dĕmak is described during the early months of the war, the rest of the Buku which concerns the fighting in Bagĕlen and the history of Purwarĕja after the Java War seems to have been almost certainly the work of Cakranagara. There is a clear divide in the tone of the work between the first and the second parts of the Buku and it is expressed most specifically in the attitude towards Dipanagara and towards Islam. Pĕŋalasan may have continued however to play an advisory role in the composition of the latter part of the Buku for he would have been in a position to provide details about Dipanagara's troops in Bagĕlen and other areas. In particular his close acquaintance with Kyai Maja may have been important in providing the unique details of Kyai Maja's break with Dipanagara and his subsequent capture.

As an historical source the Buku is easier to evaluate; it must stand as a foremost Javanese source for the history of the Java War and a

comparative account of great value to set beside Dipanagara's own autobiographical account and the Kraton Babads. The fact that it was composed under the auspices of two men who played such different roles and had such dissimilar careers serves to enhance its importance: it is at the same time the work of one of Dipanagara's closest army commanders and religious advisers, and of a formidable adversary. The fact that many of the military engagements described in the Buku concur closely with Dutch Military dispatches is also important, although this does not necessarily mean that either Cakranagara or Pĕŋalasan had access to Dutch sources: many events described by Dipanagara in his own Babad concur with these dispatches and he certainly had no access to them. The account which it gives of Yogyakarta and of Paŋeran Dipanagara before the Java War is unrivalled by other Javanese sources, and the latter part of the Buku provides much information about Bagĕlen which can be readily checked against available Dutch sources.[101] The dates which are given do however detract much from its usefulness as an historical source. Moreover as a piece of literature it is not fine and at worst degenerates into straightforward 'Bazaar' Malay: as such it can best be seen as a social document to illustrate the career of the man who conceived the work, Raden Adipati Cakranagara I of Purwarĕja.[102]

Trinity College, Oxford.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AN:	Arsip Nasional (Jakarta).
ARA:	Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague).
BG:	Bataviaasch Genootschap MSS. (now Museum Pusat).
DK:	De Kock Private Archive (The Hague) ARA.
KITLV:	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
LOr:	Leiden University Library Oriental MSS.
Not.KBG:	Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap.
SB:	Sana Budaya MSS. (Yogyakarta).
TBG:	Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap.
VBG:	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap.

[101] The most important Dutch source for events in Bagĕlen during these years is that quoted above, DK No. 49, which contains all Col. Cleerens' letters to de Kock between 10 Oct. 1825 - 8 April 1830.

[102] Acknowledgements and thanks are due to Dr. Pigeaud who provided many useful suggestions and checked all the Javanese translations. Also to Prof. Zoetmulder S.J. and Drs. Mujanattistomo of Yogyakarta who both helped with the interpretation of the Javanese introductions. Finally many thanks must go to the Bupati of Purwarĕja and his staff who made many documents available to me and who devoted a considerable amount of their time in organising interviews in the Bagĕlen area.

Appendix

LETTER OF ALI BASAH PĔŊALASAN TO COLONEL CLEERENS

(from the de Kock Collection (ARA) folio No. 210)

The following letter from Ali Basah Pĕŋalasan to Col. Cleerens is included for two reasons, firstly because it gives some impression of Pĕŋalasan's degree of literacy which is important when judging his contribution to the Buku Kĕdhuŋ Kĕbo, and secondly because the letter itself is of great historical importance in ascertaining some of Dipanagara's possible plans for peace in Java after the Java War (1825-1830) as expressed by one of his closest army commanders.

The letter is written on four octo sized sheets of Dutch Import paper (Blauw & Bril) in black ink with a difficult sloping hand. It is not clear and sometimes hard to read. In the top left hand corner of the first page there is the seal of Ali Basah Pĕŋalasan in Arabic script which reads: 'Pratandha Ŋapdullatip Pĕŋalasan afi'ala anhu (May God forgive him)'. In the transliteration the original punctuation and spelling have been kept but capital letters introduced for proper names and titles.

Sĕrat saha iŋkaŋ tabe akathah-kathah Rahaden Ŋapdullatip Ali Basah Pĕŋalasan, sayagi katur iŋ Kanjĕŋ Tuwan Kurnel Kĕlerĕs, sah iŋ kadya sapunika awiyosipun, Tuwan Kurnel amundhut priksa dhumatĕŋ iŋ kula, mĕŋgah iŋkaŋ dados kĕrsanipun Kanjĕŋ Solta[n] Jawi, saha awit iŋkaŋ rumiyin, mila sumĕdiya maŋun luhuripun agami Islam iŋ tanah Jawi sĕdaya, saupami ñaŋgiya pĕraŋipun kalayan boŋsa Kumpĕni, krĕsanipun Kanjĕŋ Soltan Jawi kawan prĕkawis, boŋsa Kumpĕni dipun dikakĕn milih salah satuŋgil, Iŋkaŋ rumiyin bilih boŋsa Kumpĕni, tĕksih rĕmĕn dados prajurit, tĕdhenipun lulus iŋkaŋ agĕŋ-agĕŋ batĕn ewah kalĕŋgahanipun, dados pĕdhaŋipun iŋ agami, Iŋkaŋ kapiŋ kalih bilih boŋsa Kumpĕni, tĕksih kraos wontĕn iŋ tanah Jawi, anaŋiŋ rĕmĕn mĕrdika mĕrdagaŋ kimawon, dipun panci sabin salĕksa, sawĕrnenipun Kumpĕni griya ŋalĕmpak dados satuŋgil, wontĕn tanah iŋ Pasisir ler sĕdaya, Iŋkaŋ kapiŋ tiga bilih boŋsa Kumpĕni, rĕmĕn mantuk

p. 2. datĕŋ iŋ tanah nĕgari Wĕlandi, sami-sami aŋlaŋgĕn- / akĕn sĕderekan kimawon, rĕmĕn baraŋ dandosanipun boŋsa Jawi, pintĕn rĕgenipun kaŋ mukakat Kumpĕni iŋgih aŋĕyatrani, utawi boŋsa Kumpĕni rĕmĕn sabin tanah Jawi, pintĕn mukakatipun iŋgih amajĕgi, Iŋkaŋ kapiŋ sĕkawan bilih boŋsa Kumpĕni, rĕmĕn maŋsuk agami rasul, tĕdha kalĕŋgahanipun batĕn ewah malah wĕwah, samaŋsan-maŋsanipun Tuwan Bĕsar kĕpaŋgih kalayan Soltan Jawi, Soltan Jawi hurmat taklim saha bilih rĕraosan Sultan Jawi kaliyan kula, utawi-utawi datĕŋ Basah-Basah sĕdaya, mĕŋgah pĕŋuŋ-guŋipun datĕŋ boŋsa Kumpĕni saŋĕt genipun eram, iŋkaŋ dipun eramakĕn iŋgih sĕbaraŋ kimawon, saha awit tĕmĕn-tĕmĕn kĕndĕl tĕtĕg tĕrĕŋginas taŋgĕn kĕras kĕbat cukat, andhap asor batin iŋgil, bĕrbudi bĕrdonya manah tĕtĕp lĕrĕs, lĕmbat agal alus sampun kinawruwan sĕdaya, dipun upamekakĕn prajurit luwih, sinĕlir

deniŋ Allahu Taŋala, punika Tuwan aŋsriŋ kĕrĕp dipun eraŋ-eraŋakĕn datĕŋ iŋkaŋ abdi-abdi sĕdaya.

p. 3. Saha kula sampeyan dikakĕn ŋintĕn-intĕn, mĕŋ- / -gah kĕrsanipun
sapunika, sawĕg dugi-dugi kula piyambak, bilih sĕrat kula sampun
dhumatĕŋ paŋgenanipun Rahaden Dipati, saupami sarĕŋan kalayan
sĕratipun Basah Prawiradirja, kados Soltan Jawi ragi gumujĕŋ sakĕdhik,
iŋkaŋ mawi kula kaliyan Basah Prawiradirja, dipun wĕstani rĕbat-
ducuŋ pados pĕkandĕlan sĕdayanipun, saha bilih batĕn kĕsarĕŋan
sĕratipun Basah Prawiradirja, sawĕg larasipun kula dipun dukani sa-
kĕdap, iŋgih mawi nĕdha kendĕlipun pĕraŋ, Kaŋjĕŋ Tuwan Bĕsar
batĕn parĕŋ, anaŋiŋ kintĕn kula lajĕŋ dipun rĕmbag sayĕktos, lĕpatipun
utusan iŋgih maŋsuli sĕrat, dados utusan dadosa maŋsuli sĕrat, mĕŋgah
ijemanipun Tuwan, sawĕg pĕndugi kula piyambak, sanesipun iŋ agami,
kados mundhut tanah siti Sala Yoja, gĕjawi tanah siti iŋkaŋ gĕbawah
Gupĕrnĕmen, saha patrap kĕraton kintĕn kula, batĕn purun kajuŋjuŋ
utawi kaprintah iŋ Kaŋjĕŋ Tuwan Gupĕrnĕmen, anjawenipun sami-
sami supĕkĕt tĕtaŋgan sĕderekan, upamanipun lare jothakan wawoh,
batĕn mrintah batĕn dipun printah, wondeniŋ tatanipun maŋun luhuri-
pun agami punika Tuwan, anjawenipun Kumpĕni, awit sawrĕnenipun
lare ŋakilbaleg sapĕŋiŋgil, sami dipun pĕrdi ŋrankĕp kala, jawenipun
kala punika nicil sambutan, saupami siti tanah Rema, wontĕn ra- /
p. 4. janipun bilih purun aŋlampahi sĕmbayaŋ, utawi purun mĕrdi pawoŋ-
rencaŋipun sagĕd sĕmbayaŋ sĕdaya, iŋgih lulus genipun nama raja
wau, batĕn wontĕn kawis-kawisipun punapa-punapa, samaŋsanipun
batĕn purun aŋlampahi sĕmbayaŋ iŋgih dipun salini, saupami batĕn
purun dipun salini pĕsthi dipun gitik pĕraŋ,

Saha pandugi kula Tuwan, Soltan Jawi punika bilih batĕn gĕdugen, aŋsalipun niyat kajat maŋun agami, kintĕn kula dipun lampu kondur datĕŋ Rahmatollah, iŋkaŋ punika Tuwan lĕpat kula iŋkaŋ aguŋ maklum sampeyan.

Sinĕrat iŋ malĕm Akat piŋ limalas iŋ wulan Jumadelakir, iŋ taun Jimawal aŋkaniŋ warsa.

1 7 5 7

[1] The Javanese 'ñaŋgiya pĕraŋipun' seems to mean 'samaŋga', I give it up.

[2] In the Kartasura period Javanese rulers used V.O.C. troops against seditious movements such as the Kajoran faction, 'Agama' here means not only religion 'Agami Islam') but the divine order in general.

[3] No specific area such as 'Cacah' is given in the Javanese.

[4] The *Pasisir* could also mean Government controlled lands other than those on the North Coast.

[5] This refers to General H. M. de Kock who was always referred to as 'Kanjĕŋ Tuwan Bĕsar' in Javanese documents.

TRANSLATION

N.B. This is not a literal translation but rather a summary of the contents. Pĕŋalasan's conversational style makes any direct translation impossible.

This letter comes with many greetings from Raden Ŋabdullatip Ali Basah Pĕŋalasan to The Honourable Colonel Cleerens. After these greetings the reason for this letter is because the Colonel asked me about the aims of the Sultan of Java. From the very beginning he wished to restore the high state of the Islamic religion throughout the whole of Java. Supposing he gave up [1] his war with the Dutch, the Sultan of Java would permit four conditions, and the Dutch are invited to choose one of them.

Firstly, if the Dutch still wish to remain as soldiers, their pay will remain unchanged, the great ones will not be changed in their positions, so as to be the sword of the religion.[2]

Secondly, if the Dutch still feel at home in Java, but are willing to be in a private capacity and to trade, they will be distributed ten thousand[3] ricefields, (and) all the various Dutch homes must be brought together in one area, that is all on the North Coast.[4]

Thirdly, if the Dutch wish to return home to The Netherlands, we will continue forever to be as brothers with each other, (and if) they want any produce from the Javanese, the Dutch must indeed pay the right price for it, or if the Dutch wish to cultivate ricefields in Java, they must rent them for the right rent.

Fourthly, if the Dutch wish to enter the true faith, their livelihood and positions will not be changed but improved.

When at any time the Tuan Bĕsar [5] meets with the Sultan of Java, the Sultan of Java will accord him deep respect, and when the Sultan of Java talked to me, or to all his Basahs [6] as to his glorifying the Dutch, he has a great admiration for them. He is impressed by various things, because they are truthful, brave, intrepid, quick-witted, reliable, energetic, (and) swift. They humble themselves (but) their spirits are noble; they are generous with material things (and) their hearts are always *true; the fine, the rough and the smooth, they know about all those* things. They can thus be compared to the finest soldiers, the elect of God Almighty. In this, Tuan, you are often held up as a warning example to all his servants.

I am invited by you to make a guess about his (Dipanagara's) present wishes: just my own personal view is that if my letter to the Raden Adipati [7] arrives at the same time as the letter from Basah Prawiradirja, it is probable that the Sultan of Java will be slightly amused, for Basah

6 'Basah' was the word to denote Paŋeran Dipanagara's army-commanders, it derived from the Turkish 'Pasha', hence also 'Ali Basah' (the "High" Pasha).

7 This refers to P. Dipanagara's Patih, R. T. Danukusuma, who was appointed as Patih in Jan. 1828 with the title of Raden Adipati Abdullah Danurĕja, see Rusche *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 24.

Prawiradirja and I will be thought to be vying with each other in trying to gain his confidence. If it did not arrive at the same time as Basah Prawiradirja's letter, it will be just that I am reprimanded for asking an end to the hostilities, (and) the Tuan Běsar did not give his approval. But I think the matter will be seriously discussed, either he will send a messenger [8] or indeed answer by a letter (it will be a messenger or it may be an answer by a letter). As to your demands, Tuan, just in my opinion, putting aside (the question) of religion, probably he (Dipanagara) would take lands in Sala and Yogya, outside the lands which are under Government control, (and) the arrangement of the Kraton in my opinion, is that he would not be appointed nor take orders from the Government, except that they (Dipanagara and the N.I. Government) would be good friends, neighbours, (and) brothers, just like children who have not been on speaking terms and who now talk with each other again. They should not order each other, and they should not be ordered by each other.

Regarding the organisation of restoring the high state of religion Tuan, excepting the Dutch, to begin with, boys who have reached the age of puberty or older are all to be instructed to worship. Those who are already old (and) have not engaged in worship are to be instructed to double (the obligatory prayers) at one time, in Javanese terms to pay off their debt in instalments. For example if in the land of Rema there is a ruler who is willing to perform the obligatory prayers, and orders his followers to pray, then he can remain a ruler without let or hindrance. (But) in the event that he cannot perform the (obligatory) prayers, then he will indeed be changed, (or) if he cannot be changed he will certainly be attacked.

My own guess, Tuan, is that if the Sultan of Java does not succeed in his determination to raise up religion, then I think he would rather depart this earth. In these matters, Tuan, I ask your forgiveness for all my faults.

Written on the night of Saturday the fifteenth of the month Jumadilakir, in the year Jimawal on the date:

1 7 5 7

(The night of the 12-13 December 1829)

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[8] The Javanese text repeats the same meaning twice: 'utusan' has the sense of a message from a highly placed person to an inferior, the passage may have a connection with the return of Pěŋalasan's first messengers on 2nd December without a satisfactory answer from Dipanagara's Patih. The latter had asked for a fifteen day truce, but this had not been granted by de Kock, hence the passage about "being reprimanded for asking an end to the hostilities, and the Tuan Běsar (de Kock) noı giving his approval." In the meantime messengers from Sěntot to Dipanagara had also come through and were on their way to find Dipanagara (de Kock to Cleerens, DK No. 49 4 Dec. 1829, Cleerens to de Kock 5 Dec. 1829, No. 241).